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ABSTRACT

Designed to be used with the sound-color filmstrip "Reconstruction: The Promise and Betrayal of Democracy," these learning activities are intended to help students in grades 5-9 develop critical thinking about how their textbook presents the Reconstruction Era. The activities focus on many ideas. Some of the focusing ideas presented are that racism and white supremacy conflict with the principles of the Declaration of Independence; that black people and some whites worked to end slavery and make the principles of the United States come true; and that land was a crucial need of the freedpeople and the lack of land redistribution was a fundamental failure of Reconstruction. Students read and discuss short reading selections provided and analyze the filmstrip. Each activity provides a focusing idea, objectives, information on time required, materials needed, teacher preparation, and classroom procedure. Bibliographies of additional student readings are also supplied. (RM)

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RECONSTRUCTION:

The Promise and Betrayal of Democracy

Teachers' Guide and Classroom Activities

SO 015 063

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Introduction

The activities in this booklet have been designed to be used with the sound-color filmstrip "Reconstruction: The Promise and Betrayal of Democracy." One or more of the activities may be used to expand on the concepts presented in the filmstrip.

Before showing the filmstrip or using the activities, teachers and discussion leaders are encouraged to review the information in the accompanying 40-page booklet, *Reconstruction: The Promise and Betrayal of Democracy.* That booklet provides an analysis of the problems typically found in U.S. history textbooks' discussion of Reconstruction. The filmstrip and activities are designed to enhance learning about Reconstruction. They are designed to develop critical thinking about textbook presentations and to provide supplementary information and perspectives often left out of textbooks. *Reconstruction: The Promise and Betrayal of Democracy* is a rich source of quotes and information for the instructor to include in discussions.

The issues raised in this material, such as the meaning of democracy or the contradiction between democracy and white supremacy, are some of the most important facing U.S. society. They are issues which young people can often deal with more easily than can adults. Providing young people with an opportunity to consider and explore these questions is an important responsibility for concerned adults working with the future generations of citizens.

Once interest in these topics has been sparked, questions and explorations can lead in many directions. Educators will want to provide encouragement and guidance for this exploration, being comfortable with not always having answers or necessary information at hand. In learning situations about racism, teachers who are comfortable acknowledging themselves as learners will likely create the most effective learning environments.

Suggested Classroom Activities

FOCUSING IDEA: Racism and white supremacy conflict with the principles of the Declaration of Independence.

OBJECTIVES:

- Students will be able to state in their own words the meaning of the terms "racism" and "white supremacy."
- Students will be able to explain how racist beliefs were used to justify the denial of equal rights to Black people.
- Students will be able to explain how racism and white supremacy conflict with the principles of equality, justice and democracy expressed in the Declaration of Independence.
- Students will be able to identify the persons who benefitted from the practice of white supremacy and racism.

TIME REQUIRED:

One class period.

MATERIALS NEEDED:

The filmstrip script (pp. 20-23) and the Declaration of Independence (back cover, Book I).*

TEACHER PREPARATION:

Teacher should review the filmstrip's definitions of "racism" (Frames 14-17) and "white supremacy" (Frames 67-68) and be familiar with information in Book I.

*All page citations for Book I refer to the accompanying 40-page booklet, *Reconstruction: The Promise and Betrayal of Democracy.*

CLASSROOM PROCEDURE:

1. *Write the word "racism"* on the chalkboard. Ask students to recall the meaning of the term as used in the filmstrip (Frames 14-17: the belief that white people are better than or superior to Black people just because of the color of their skin).

2. *Ask students to discuss* what purposes such racist beliefs served (for example, as excuses to make it seem all right to enslave Black people, to make them work without pay, to deny them equal rights and freedom). What were the benefits to those who enslaved African people? Why, over time, did they need to develop excuses to make it seem all right? Why did the racist idea that Africans weren't really human beings or were less than human make it easier for Europeans to practice slavery?

3. *Write the term "white supremacy"* on the chalkboard. Ask students to recall the meaning of the term as used in the filmstrip (Frames 67-68: only whites would run the government, whites would be treated better than Blacks, whites would have special rights denied to Blacks). Develop the meaning further in terms of the word "supreme" (highest in rank or authority). How did white supremacy benefit whites—particularly those rich slavemasters who ran the Southern state governments? Why do some people like to be supreme and have special rights and benefits just for themselves? How is this unfair? Is it fair for rights and benefits to be decided just on the basis of skin color? Explain.

4. *Review the essential principles* of the Declaration of Independence in terms of equality, justice, rights and consent of the governed. Discuss the conflict between these principles and the practice of slavery, white supremacy and racism. How can there be equality and justice for all if white supremacy is practiced? Discuss the difference between equality and rights on the one hand, and white supremacy and racism on the other. What happens to the principle of "consent of the governed" when the government is run by and for whites only? President Andrew Johnson said government was only for white men. Should Black men and Black and white women have the right to give their consent to and be involved in government? Why?

5. Why did some whites want to maintain the system of slavery and white supremacy? What advantages and benefits did they get? Which whites did not benefit in the same way from slavery and white supremacy? How did Reconstruction for a time break down white supremacy? Why was the United States closer to living out the true meaning of its principles during Reconstruction than before or after?

FOCUSING IDEA: Black people and some whites worked to end slavery and make the principles of the United States come true.

OBJECTIVE:

• Students will be able to identify some of the individuals who worked to end slavery and provide more rights for all, and be able to present information about them to the class.

MATERIALS NEEDED:

The filmstrip; copies of the background information pieces on Angelina Grimké, Frederick Douglass, Harriet Tubman, John Brown, Susan B. Anthony, and Sojourner Truth.

TEACHER PREPARATION:

Become familiar with the six background information pieces. Copy the pages so that you have enough to give each student *one* sheet.

CLASSROOM PROCEDURE:

1. *Project Frame 18* on the screen. Remind students that the four people shown were involved in trying to end slavery and to create a society with liberty and justice for all. Ask if students can identify any of the four individuals. If not, introduce them: Angelina Grimké (upper left), Frederick Douglass (upper right), Harriet Tubman (lower left), John Brown (lower right). Ask students if, after hearing the names, they can identify what any of the four did.

2. *Project Frame 58* on the screen. Remind students that Susan B. Anthony and Sojourner Truth were two of the people who wanted women to be allowed to vote. Both were active in the anti-slavery effort, as well.

3. *Distribute copies* of the background information sheets, giving each student information on only one of the six people. Copies should be distributed so that one-sixth of the class gets information about one person, one-sixth about another, etc. Have students read their sheet.

4. *Lead a class discussion* on the six individuals, asking students to volunteer information about what each did that led to their being remembered in history. Discussion should focus on their concerns and activities in support of equality and fair treatment for all people, their dedication to what they believed in, and their support for the principles on which the United States was founded.

5. *Encourage students to read* further about these individuals. Some suggested resources follow.

Susan B. Anthony

Mother, Aunt Susan and Me. William Jay Jacobs. New York: Coward, McCann and Goeghegan, 1979. Gr. 4-7.

John Brown

John Brown: A Cry for Freedom. Lorenz Graham. New York: Harper and Row, 1980. Gr. 7-up.

Frederick Douglass

Escape to Freedom: A Play About Young Frederick Douglass. Ossie Davis. New York: Viking Press, 1978. Gr. 3-5.

Life and Times of Frederick Douglass: The Complete Autobiography. Frederick Douglass. New York: Macmillan (Collier), 1962. Young adults.

The Life and Times of Frederick Douglass. Frederick Douglass. Barbara Ritchie, ed. New York: Crowell, 1966. Ages 10-14.

The Mind and Heart of Frederick Douglass: Excerpts from the Speeches of the Great Negro Orator. Frederick Douglass. Barbara Ritchie, ed. New York: Crowell, 1968. Ages 8-12.

There Was Once a Slave: The Heroic Story of Frederick Douglass. Shirley Graham. New York: Julian Messner, 1947. Gr. 7-up.

Sojourner Truth

Sojourner Truth. Victoria Ortiz. Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1974. Gr. 7-up.

Sojourner Truth: Slave, Abolitionist, Fighter for Women's Rights. Aletha Jane Kindstrom. New York: Julian Messner, 1980. Gr. 4-6.

Harriet Tubman

Freedom Train: The Story of Harriet Tubman. Dorothy Sterling. New York: Doubleday and Co., 1954. Gr. 8-12.

Harriet Tubman: Conductor on the Underground Railroad. Ann Petry. New York: Crowell, 1955. Gr. 7-11.

Harriet Tubman: Guide to Freedom. Sam Epstein and Beryl Epstein. Champaign, IL: Garrard Publishing Co., 1968. Gr. 3-6.

Runaway Slave: The Story of Harriet Tubman. Ann McGovern. New York: Scholastic, 1965, Gr. 1-4.

When the Rattlesnake Sounds: A Play About Harriet Tubman. Alice Childress. New York: Coward, McCann and Geoghegan, 1975. Gr. 7-11.

Harriet Tubman

Harriet Tubman, the most famous and successful conductor on the Underground Railroad, was born in Maryland around 1820. Her proud boast was, "On my Underground Railroad I never ran my train off the track and I never lost a passenger." Born a slave, Harriet Tubman was determined to be free. And she was not afraid to help others who dared to try to escape. When she was only thirteen, she interfered with efforts of an overseer who was trying to prevent a slave from escaping. Struck on the head with a two-pound weight meant for the fleeing slave, she suffered violent headaches for the rest of her life. Quite often she would fall into a deep sleep that could last anywhere from a few minutes to several hours.

Harriet Tubman was a young woman in her twenties when she finally made her escape. Word had reached her that she and two of her brothers were going to be sold immediately. She left the plantation as soon as it was dark, going straight to the farmhouse of a white woman who had promised to help her. The woman fed Harriet, gave her the names of two other people who would help her, and directed her to their houses. Thus Harriet Tubman began her first trip on the Underground Railroad. Both black and white people helped her on her way until she reached Philadelphia and freedom in 1849.

Twenty times in the next ten years Harriet Tubman made the dangerous trip back to the South. She brought 300 other slaves North to freedom. Whenever a slave became frightened and wanted to turn back, she pointed her gun at the person, saying, "You'll be free or you'll be dead."

Tubman met John Brown, a white man who planned to lead an armed revolt of slaves to end slavery. Tubman wanted to join Brown's group in raiding the federal arsenal (a place to keep weapons) in Harper's Ferry, Virginia. But she became very sick before the raid and was unable to take part.

The time came when it was too dangerous for Harriet Tubman to continue her trips South. The price on her head had reached forty thousand dollars. She worked on the Union side during the Civil War as Army scout, nurse and spy. Harriet was the first woman in U.S. military history to lead a battlefield attack. She organized black troops for raids on Confederate forces and arsenals, and set 500 prisoners of war free. Not one of her soldiers was killed or wounded in her engagements.

After the Civil War, Harriet Tubman became active in the fight for woman's suffrage. She also raised money to build schools for the newly freed slaves. She died in Auburn, New York, in 1913.

Sojourner Truth

Sojourner Truth was an amazing person. She was born a slave in 1797 in New York State, but ran away from her master when she was an adult. She decided to spend most of her life fighting for the freedom of the slaves and for the rights of women. While Sojourner Truth was never taught to read or write, she was able to use language so beautifully, in making speeches, that thousands came to hear her.

Every time she went around the country, speaking against slavery, she faced great danger and possible death. People in favor of slavery would throw stones at white or black abolitionists (abolitionists were people who wanted to do away with slavery), and threaten to kill them. When she was almost 70-years-old, she went to a town in Indiana to speak. A mob of people who wanted to continue slavery threatened, "If Sojourner Truth tries to speak in the town hall, we will burn down the building." Sojourner Truth was not frightened. She said, "Then I will speak upon its ashes."

Sojourner Truth believed that women should be treated equally with men. Once she was attending a woman's rights meeting. A man in the audience stood up and said that men were superior to women. He said that women couldn't manage without help from men. Finally, Sojourner Truth went to the platform and asked to speak. She was given permission. This is part of what she said:

> What's all this here talking about? That man over there say that women needs to be helped into carriages, and lifted over ditches, and to have the best place everywhere. Nobody ever helps me into carriages, or over mud puddles, or gives me any best place, and ain't I a woman? Look at me! I have plowed, and planted, and gathered into barns, and no man could head me—and ain't I a woman? I could work as much and eat as much as a man (when I could get it), and bear the lash as well—and ain't I a woman! I have borne five children and seen them most all sold off into slavery, and when I cried out with a mother's grief, none but Jesus heard—and ain't I a woman?

When she finished her speech, there were loud cheers as she walked back to her seat, while many rushed to shake her hand.

Sojourner Truth became so well known that she met with both President Lincoln and President Grant.

After the Civil War, when Sojourner Truth was in her seventies, she worked among the thousands of freedpeople who were crowded into slums around Washington, D.C. She worked hard to try to get the government to provide land for the freedpeople. She believed it was owed them for all their years of unpaid forced work.

Sojourner Truth died on November 26, 1883. More than almost any other person, her life had been dedicated to fighting for human and equal rights for all.

Angelina Grimké

Angelina Grimké was born in 1805, the daughter of a wealthy white slaveholding family in Charleston, South Carolina. She became a leader of the anti-slavery movement and of the woman's rights movement.

Angelina, and her sister Sarah, rebelled against the type of life they were supposed to live. They hated slavery and chose not to live in luxury while black people remained enslaved. They spoke against slavery to friends and neighbors. After becoming Quakers—a religion that teaches the equality of all people—they spoke out even more. But speaking against slavery was not permitted in the South. It was difficult for them to stay. In 1829, Angelina moved to Philadelphia, where Sarah had moved earlier. Later, Angelina tried to go back to visit her mother. She was stopped from entering Charleston and told never to return.

The Grimké sisters went to meetings of the Philadelphia Anti-Slavery Society. They began speaking at anti-slavery meetings. As Southerners from a slaveholding family, they could speak against slavery in ways that other white anti-slavery speakers could not. They became two of the best white anti-slavery speakers, often speaking to large crowds.

In 1836, Angelina wrote a famous appeal to white women in the South. She asked them to free any slaves they held, to urge their husbands, fathers and brothers to do the same, and to work publicly to end slavery. When copies of her appeal reached South Carolina, postmasters burned them to keep others from reading the anti-slavery ideas.

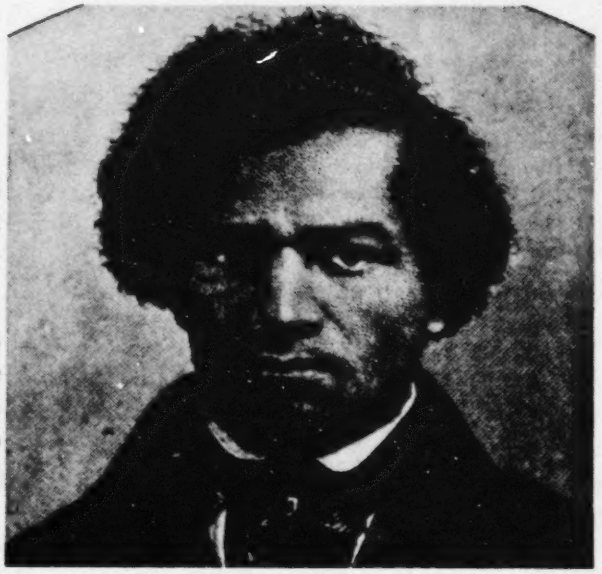
Anti-slavery speakers faced great danger, even in the North. They were often attacked, stones and rotten eggs were thrown at them, and their speeches were drowned out by hecklers. Once Angelina spoke to an anti-slavery convention in Philadelphia. A shouting mob gathered outside, smashing most of the windows in the building. When she finished her speech, to great applause, broken glass lay at her feet. Later, the mob burned the building to the ground.

The Grimké sisters faced even greater difficulties than did male anti-slavery speakers. Women were then treated as property of men. It was considered wrong for them to travel alone, or to speak in public to mixed audiences of women and men. Ministers, newspapers and many others attacked the Grimké sisters as "unwomanly" and "unchristian."

Angelina and Sarah knew slavery was wrong and that they must work to end it. Attempts to keep them from speaking against slavery—because they were women—hurt the anti-slavery movement and also denied them their human rights. So they began to speak and write about both woman's rights and an end to slavery. They were among the very first women in the U.S. to speak and write about equal rights for women.

The strain of facing mobs and hecklers was great. After her speech in Philadelphia, Angelina Grimké almost completely lost her voice. Though she did no more public speaking, she and Sarah wrote an important book about the cruel ways slaves were treated. Angelina Grimké died in 1879.

Frederick Douglass



Frederick Douglass was born in Maryland in February 1817. Born a slave, he knew what it was like to be owned by another human being and treated in a cruel way.

Once, while he was being beaten by his master, the pain was so great that he became furious. He decided to fight back, something a slave was never supposed to do. He fought so hard that his master became very frightened and never beat him again.

Frederick Douglass always remembered this. It taught him that, to be free, people must do all they can to see that they are treated with respect. He knew that slaves, or any other group of people who are denied their rights, would never achieve them simply by hoping and praying. They would have to rise up, speak out, take action to win what they deserved.

Douglass did not remain a slave forever. He escaped to the North in 1838, got a job, taught himself to read and write. He became a great writer and speaker against slavery and published a newspaper called *The North Star.* In 1842, in one of his first speeches to an anti-slavery meeting, he said: "I appear before the assembly this evening as a thief and a robber. I stole this head, these limbs, this body from my master, and ran off with them."

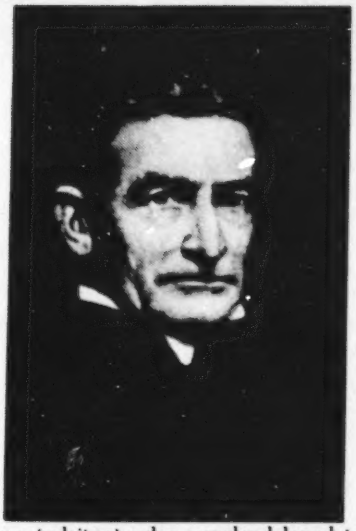
Douglass believed that the way to stop an unfair practice was to actively fight it. And that is how he lived. Once, a conductor tried to remove him from the "white" section of a railroad car. Douglass hung onto his bench so firmly that he tore it from the floor.

Later in his life he wrote his autobiography, the story of his life. It told how he became interested in woman's rights after seeing many women working hard to abolish slavery. He admired all the time they gave to his cause and he began to believe that they should be treated equally with men.

One day he talked with Elizabeth Cady Stanton, a white woman who was against slavery and who spent most of her life working for equal rights for women. Talking with her, Douglass realized that there was no limit to what women could do, if they were given the chance. "Certainly," she said, "they should be allowed to choose people to govern the country. After all, people in government make laws that apply to both women and men."

For most of his life as a free man, Frederick Douglass not only spoke and wrote against slavery, but also spoke and wrote for woman's rights. He was glad when more and more women joined together to demand their rights, just as he was glad when slaves rose up and fought for their freedom during the Civil War.

John Brown



John Brown was born in Connecticut on May 9, 1800. Many people today think John Brown was a black man. He was a white man who was against the United States letting some people force other people to be their slaves. He believed that it was *so* wrong, that he was willing to fight and die trying to make the United States a country with real liberty and justice *for all.*

It's too bad people think that anyone who worked so hard to end slavery must have been African American (black). It would be good for people to know about those European Americans (whites) who worked hard to end racism and make the United States what it promised to be—for all.

In his youth, John Brown travelled to Kentucky, a state that allowed slavery. He met another youth about his own age. John believed they could have become friends. But the other youth was held in slavery and was not free, as John was. John saw the slavemaster beat his friend. He told the slavemaster, "I was brought up to think the Africans are people same as we are, and that it's a sin to use them as slaves." That belief shaped John Brown's life.

Brown became an abolitionist (a person who wanted slavery ended). His life was more and more involved in the fight against slavery. Brown believed the words of the Declaration of Independence were true for all—European Americans and African Americans. He believed slavery would destroy the promise of the United States. He was deeply religious, and thought slavery was a terrible sin.

In 1855, John Brown went to Kansas, where some of his family had moved. A struggle was going on in Kansas to decide if it would join the Union as free state, or one that allowed slavery. Armed men who wanted slavery in Kansas were attacking those who wanted a free state. They beat up anti-slavery people, burned their homes, ruined their crops and stole their cattle. Brown and his sons organized an armed group of anti-slavery people to fight back. Brown's group helped free some slaves and get them safely to Canada. And because some anti-slavery people had been killed, they killed some of the pro-slavery people. From then on, John Brown was sought by the law. But even in hiding, he kept travelling and meeting, trying to get support for his plans. He met with Harriet Tubman, Frederick Douglass and others who were most active in the anti-slavery fight.

John Brown dreamed of leading an armed revolt among slaves in the South. He hoped this revolt would finally end slavery. Brown organized a secret band of men—black and white—who opposed slavery and were willing to fight against it. On October 16, 1859, Brown's force raided the U.S. arsenal (a place to keep weapons) at Harper's Ferry, Virginia. They wanted to capture weapons for use in the slave revolt.

The raid on Harper's Ferry failed. Hundreds of U.S. troops arrived and shooting began. After two days of fighting, eight of the raiders were dead—including two of Brown's sons. John Brown was captured, badly wounded. He was hung on December 2, 1859.

Brown's plan to start a massive slave revolt failed. But his raid led many people to think more about slavery and to oppose it. Not long after his death, the Civil War began. Thousands of Union soldiers marched into battle singing:

John Brown's body lies a moldering in the grave / But his soul goes marching on.

Susan B. Anthony

Susan B. Anthony—born in 1820 in Massachusetts—was a leader of the woman's rights movement. From the time she was a girl, she felt angry that women were not treated equal to men. At the age of 17 she went to work as a teacher. She was paid $2.50 a week, half of the pay of the previous male teacher. Anthony felt that this was unfair. She thought teachers should get paid the same, whether they were women or men.

Anthony went to a meeting of many teachers. Even though most of the teachers were women, only men were allowed to get up on the stage and speak. In those days, women were not supposed to speak in public meeting places, but women like Anthony began speaking anyway. They felt that they had a right to be heard, too.

Susan B. Anthony spoke out in public against slavery. She said it was wrong for anyone to hold other people as slaves. Just as she felt black people should be treated as equal to whites, she felt women should be treated as equal to men. Women who spoke out against slavery and for woman's rights had to be brave. Sometimes, when they tried to speak at meetings, people would make a lot of noise so they couldn't be heard. Rotten eggs, and even acid, were thrown at them. They were threatened with guns and chased out of towns.

In 1872, Anthony decided to vote in the election for President of the United States. She and her three sisters walked into the polling place to register to vote. After an hour-long discussion, she persuaded the inspectors to register them. Then she rushed to urge other women to register. On election day, Anthony and 14 other women voted. Two weeks later she was arrested for voting.

At her trial, she was not allowed to testify in her own defense. The judge said, "Women are not allowed to speak in the court." Usually a jury listens to both sides and then decides whether or not a person is guilty. But the judge told the jury to find her guilty. Anthony and her lawyer were shocked. The trial was over in just two days.

Before she was sentenced, the judge asked if she had anything to say. Susan B. Anthony told him what she thought of the trial. Every word was written down by reporters. Soon the whole country would be reading about it. "I pay my taxes but am denied the right to vote. I am denied a fair trial because the judge, jury, and all the lawyers are men. Those jobs are reserved only for men. The courts are against women." The judge was angry. "You have been tried according to the laws of this country," he shouted. "Yes, your honor, but by laws all made by men, in favor of men and against women . . . . If a law is wrong I believe a person does not have to obey it. There were laws that said it was a crime to help a slave escape, but there were many people who thought this law was wrong. They helped slaves to freedom anyway."

The judge pronounced sentence: "You must pay a fine of $100 and also the cost of this trial." Anthony quickly replied, "Your honor, I shall never pay a dollar of your unjust penalty." And she never did! Instead, she kept on fighting to win equal rights for women. Susan B. Anthony died in March 1906.

FOCUSING IDEA: Land was a crucial need of the freedpeople and the lack of land redistribution was a fundamental failure of Reconstruction.

OBJECTIVES:

- Students will be able to explain in their own words the importance of land for the freedpeople.
- Students will be able to state some of the reasons freedpeople had for expecting to get land.
- Students will be able to explain in their own words how land distribution would have benefitted the freedpeople economically and socially, and enhanced their voting rights.

TIME REQUIRED:

One class period.

MATERIALS NEEDED:

The filmstrip, the section on "Land" (pp. 11-13) and "Black Community Building" (pp. 13-14).

TEACHER PREPARATION:

Read "Land" and "Black Community Building." It would be useful also to examine the treatment of this issue in the textbook you use.

CLASSROOM PROCEDURE:

1. *Refer students* to the filmstrip (perhaps play back Frames 35-45) and discuss the 4 million freedpeople's need for land, using these questions to spark discussion: What kind of payment had slaves gotten for all their work? How did the slaves' work benefit the slavemasters? What kind of skills did the freedpeople possess? What happened in those places where freedpeople *did* get some land, at least temporarily? Why would owning land be important to the people just freed from slavery?

2. *Read quotes* about freedpeople's right to land (pp. 12-13). What reasons are given for the freedpeople's right to land? What was owed them for their lifetimes of forced work with no pay? Why was it fair for the freed slaves to expect a share of what their work had created?

3. *Review* Thaddeus Stevens' proposal for providing freedpeople with land (see p. 00). Was Stevens' proposal fair? Why or why not? Who would it have helped? Who would it have hurt?

4. *Ask the class* how owning their own land, along with having the vote, would have strengthened Black people's freedom? What were the benefits to large landowners if Black people were kept landless? How might things have been different for the United States as time went on if the freed slaves had received land and been able to set up their own farms and independent lives?

5. *Ask students to examine* what their textbook says about the need for land. Does it present all different views on the issue fairly? If not, which groups' views are best represented? Would reading just the textbook give a person enough information to make an informed judgment about the land issue?

FOCUSING IDEA: Increased representation in government by Black and poor white men was one of the major gains of the Reconstruction period.

OBJECTIVES:

- Students will be able to explain the meaning of "representation" in democratic government.
- Students will be able to identify groups which were denied the right to choose others to represent them in government before Reconstruction.
- Students will be able to state ways in which Reconstruction broadened representation of certain groups in government.
- Students will be able to contrast the broadening of democracy during Reconstruction with the return to less democratic government after Reconstruction.

TIME REQUIRED:

One or two class periods.

MATERIALS NEEDED:

The filmstrip, a copy of the Declaration of Independence.

TEACHER PREPARATION:

Read the Declaration of Independence (Back Cover, Book I), "Black Political Representation" (pp. 21-22), and examine the treatment of this issue in the textbook you use.

CLASSROOM PROCEDURE:

1. *Develop with students* a definition of the term "represent" (to take the place of, substitute in some capacity, act the part of). Then develop the term "representation." Note that the Congress of the United States includes the Senate and the House of Representatives. Ask students why the House is called the House of Representatives. Ask if they can identify the person who represents them in the House.

2. *Ask students to recall* the Boston Tea Party and the concerns of people in the British colonies about government making decisions about them without allowing them to have a say ("No Taxation Without Representation"). Remind them that one of the major reasons the colonists said they were fighting for independence from Britain was to gain the right to have representation or a say in their government.

3. *Review with the class* the essential points of the Declaration of Independence:

§ that all people are created equal, with rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness;

§ that the basic purpose of government is to protect people's rights, safety, and happiness;

§ that government should exist only with the approval of the people being governed.

4. *Ask students* who they think the Declaration was referring to when it said "all men are created equal"? Who was not included in the Declaration (Black people, Indian people, all women)? Why?

5. *Develop with students* the meaning of the term "democracy" as it is applied in the United States ("govern-

ment of the people, by the people, and for the people"). In a democracy, citizens either participate directly in government (e.g., New England town meeting), or elect others to represent them in government. Voting is the means by which people choose who will represent them. Ask students to explain the importance of democracy and representation as the basis of government.

6. *Refer to the filmstrip* (perhaps play back Frames 19-22 and 52-66) and ask which groups, at the end of the Civil War, were not allowed to participate in choosing who should govern them (Black men, poor white men, women of all colors and incomes). Which groups gained the right to vote during Reconstruction? What did they gain as a result? Who lost the vote after Reconstruction? Which period—before, during, or after Reconstruction—was the most democratic? Why? Ask students to explain why the United States was closer to becoming the kind of nation it promised to be during the Reconstruction period. Why would many people, particularly women, say that real democracy still wasn't achieved?

FOCUSING IDEA: Black people in the United States have never had their proportionate share of government power and leadership.

OBJECTIVES:

- Students will be able to identify evidences of Black people's under-representation in political power and leadership.
- Students will be able to gather and analyze information about the under-representation of Black people in government today.

TIME REQUIRED:

One class period.

TEACHER PREPARATION:

Read "Elections and Terrorism, pp. 28-29.

CLASSROOM PROCEDURE:

1. *Refer to the filmstrip* (perhaps play back Frames 74-90) and ask students to recall what happened to Black men's right to vote and to the more democratic governments. Why is white-only government not democratic? What happened to Black people once they lost the right to representation in government?

2. *Introduce the word "proportionate"* and develop its meaning of "a proper share," or a share equal to your numbers in the population. Explain that during Reconstruction, Black people were working not only for the right to vote but, more importantly, for their proper share of government power and leadership. For example, in a town or state where Black people were half the population, they should be able to elect half the lawmakers to represent them. Explain that even during Reconstruction, Black officials in government were less than the share Black people should have had, given their numbers in the population.

3. *Provide the class* with the following statistics on contemporary political representation for Blacks, Latinos and all women, compared to population figures. Note that there are more Black, Latino and female officials today than at any time since Reconstruction. Have students suggest reasons for this. Ask students to consider that Black people, Latinos and women have *never* had a proportionate share of power and leadership in government in the United States.

Black people are about 12 percent of the population. In 1981, about 3 percent of members of Congress were Black. In 1980, about 4 percent of state legislators were Black. In 1981, in 11 Southern states where Blacks are about 22 percent of the population, about 7 percent of state legislators were Black.

Latino people (Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Cubans, etc.) are about 6.5 percent of the population. In 1981, about 1 percent of members of Congress were Latino.

Women are about 52 percent of the population. In 1981, about 4 percent of members of Congress were women and about 12 percent of state legislators were women.

4. *Encourage students to write* to the following groups to learn about ways in which Black people's rights to vote and to representation are still being limited and what efforts are underway to protect the rights of women and men of all groups to vote and have representation in government.

U.S. Commission on Civil Rights
Washington, D.C. 20425
Report: *The Voting Rights Act: Unfilled Goals.*

American Civil Liberties Union
Public Information and Education Dept.
132 W. 43rd St.
New York, NY 10036
Booklet: *Hands that once picked cotton now pick public officials—or do they?* 50¢ per copy

American Civil Liberties Union
Southern Regional Office
52 Fairlie St., N.W.
Atlanta, GA 30303
Report: *Voting Rights In The South.*

Voter Education Project
52 Fairlie St., N.W.
Atlanta, GA 30303

Voting Rights Project
Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights Under the Law
733 15th Street, N.W., Suite 520
Washington, D.C. 20005

Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund
145 Ninth St.
San Francisco, CA 94103

National Women's Political Caucus
1921 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

Center for the American Woman and Politics
Eagleton Institute of Politics,Rutgers University
New Brunswick, NJ 08903

FOCUSING IDEA: The Ku Klux Klan is a white supremacist organization that used violence and terror to destroy the Reconstruction governments and re-establish white supremacy.

OBJECTIVES:

- Students will be able to present information about the violent nature of the Ku Klux Klan during Reconstruction.
- Students will be able to identify targets of Klan violence during Reconstruction.

TIME REQUIRED:

One class period.

MATERIALS NEEDED:

A copy of the testimony of Klan victims reproduced for each student.

TEACHER PREPARATION:

Read "Armed White Patrols" (pp. 18-19) and "Elections and Terrorism" (pp. 28-29).

CLASSROOM PROCEDURE:

1. *Replay Frames 74-86.* Tell students that the Ku Klux Klan proclaimed that, "Our main and fundamental objective is the MAINTENANCE OF THE SUPREMACY OF THE WHITE RACE." Review the meaning of "white supremacy" (see suggested activity, p. 3 of this booklet).

2. *Explain* that in 1871, Congress sent investigators to the South to learn about the violence being used against Black and white people working to build democracy. Tell students that the material they are going to read contains true stories taken from the testimony of two victims of Ku Klux Klan violence. Distribute copies of the testimony by Charlotte Fowler and Hannah Tutson and ask students to read it.

3. *Initiate a discussion* of the testimony, allowing the students to express their feelings and reactions. Ask why the people were attacked by the Klan. Ask students to recall from the filmstrip other targets of Klan attacks (students and teachers in the new schools, Black and white leaders, voters). Why would the Klan seek to terrorize these people? Who was threatened by Blacks who had some land and were building new lives? By Black people learning how to read and write? By Blacks who voted? Who was threatened by whites working with Blacks to build democracy and a better life for all? Ask students to recall what the filmstrip said about the background of many Klan leaders (former slaveholders who led the rebellion against the United States).

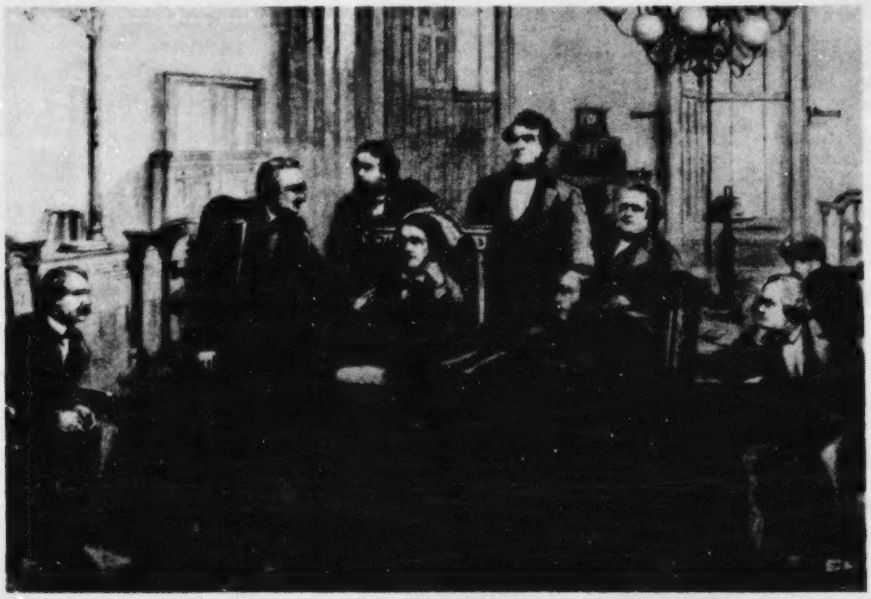
FOLLOW-UP ACTIVITY:

Ask students if they have heard of Ku Klux Klan activities today (the Klan is currently active across the country). Encourage them to write to the following groups for more information on contemporary Klan activities and what is being done to try to counter them. (An excellent resource for teachers, and for junior and senior high school students, on the Klan is the informational and instructional kit *Violence, The Ku Klux Klan and the Struggle for Equality,* available from CIBC, 1841 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10023.)

National Anti-Klan Network
P.O. Box 10500
Atlanta, GA 30310

Klanwatch
Southern Poverty Law Center
100 South Hall Street
Montgomery, AL 36101

Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
823 U.N. Plaza
New York, N.Y. 10017



The Senate Committee for Investigation of Southern Outrages hears testimony in 1871 from a teacher run out of town by the Ku Klux Klan.

Hannah Tutson—November 10, 1871

Five Ku Klux men pushed the door in. I screamed and they choked me and grabbed my littlest child by the foot. They pulled him away from me and threw him against the wall. Then lots of them dragged me outside. I saw they had more men pulling my husband and stomping on him.

They hit my head with their pistols, tied me to a tree, and pulled off all my clothes. They said: "We will show you. You are living on another man's land." I said, "No. I gave $150 for this land." They cursed me and beat me. Then they beat me some more. But I still wanted to save our land.

When they finished whipping me and went away, I was bleeding from my neck to my feet. The house was broken up and I couldn't see my husband or children. I took a dress but it hurt too much to put it on. So I carried it and walked 12 miles before sunrise to show Mr. Ashley how they whipped me. He told me to find my children and go out of town.

I went back and at noon I found my children hiding. One is about five, another almost ten, and the other only 10 months. They had hid outside all night in the field. My little daughter said that when the baby cried, she would reach out and pick some goosebernies and put them into its little mouth. When she could hear none of the Ku Klux any more, she went up into the field to a log heap and stayed there with her brother and the baby.

The baby's hip was hurt from being thrown against the wall. When it began to walk one of its hips was very bad. Every time you would stand it up it would scream. My husband was whipped so bad he could not travel as I did. He could not even sit up. He had been whipped all over his body. His legs were whipped more than anywhere else.

We've been living on that land for nearly three years. This would have been our third crop. They had been after us for a long time, telling us to get out. Then they came and whipped us out.

Charlotte Fowler—July 6, 1871

I was sick, very sick in bed with a fever, all day Wednesday and Thursday. My husband came home Thursday night from the field and he cooked for me and for our granddaughter, Sophia, who was staying with us.

After he went to bed, I heard the dogs barking, then people banging on the door. Well, my husband opened the door and they shot him, with the little girl standing right there. I just saw two of them, but I heard more riding away.

I was screaming and my granddaughter was crying. The men made Sophia light a stick in the fire so they could hold it up and see better. The man who shot my husband had a black mask with horns on it. He took the lighted stick and held it over my old man. The other man came over and dropped a chip of fire on my husband. It burnt his chest right through the shirt.

My husband was shot through the head. Every time he breathed, his brains would come out. But he didn't die until the next day, in the afternoon.

My husband worked for the Republican party. He worked for them ever since they started the voting for Black people.

VIOLENCE,
THE KU KLUX KLAN AND
THE STRUGGLE FOR EQUALITY

AN INFORMATIONAL AND INSTRUCTIONAL KIT

Prepared and Published by
The Connecticut Education Association
The Council on Interracial Books for Children
The National Education Association

FOCUSING IDEA: Segregation and inequality continue to exist in the United States, even though the laws creating them have been changed.

OBJECTIVES:

- Students will be able to state in their own words the meaning of the term "segregation."
- Students will be able to explain in their own words how the segregation of Black people and white people from each other was developed by some people for their own benefit.
- Students will be able to identify evidences that even without laws requiring them, racial segregation and inequality continue in the United States.

TIME REQUIRED:

One class period.

MATERIALS NEEDED:

"Seeds of the Bitter Harvest" (below).

TEACHER PREPARATION:

Read "Seeds of the Bitter Harvest" (below) and review the filmstrip script (pp. 22-23) for Frames 86-100.

Seeds of the Bitter Harvest

Prior to the development of the system of African slavery in the mid 1600's, European and African indentured servants had worked together—bending, sweating, stooping and cursing under the command, and for the benefit of, the aristocratic elite. And as indentured servants they had lived together—laughing, crying, loving, marrying and dying, in the natural state of human interactions.

Lerone Bennett, Jr., tells us that "Skin color had a meaning then but not the meaning it has now. The basic division was between servants and free people; and there were whites and Negroes on both sides of the line (p. 16)." Bennett then discusses what occurred as the planters sought a more stable workforce than that provided by indentured servants:

> Beginning around 1660, the planter class drafted and passed laws that made Negroes servants for life. . . . Having made one step, the white power structure had to take another, more ominous step. . . . [I]t requires rigid training, long persisted in, to make a slave or a slaveholder. . . .
>
> The Negro and white working class of the 1660's, the bulk of the population, had not been prepared for the roles outlined in the new script of statutes. It was necessary, therefore, to teach Negroes and whites that they should not and could not deal with each other on the basis of reciprocity and emotion and relation. And this, remarkably enough, proved exceedingly difficult.
>
> The forced breaking of the bond can be traced with precision in the emotionally-toned areas of love and sex. . . . Fearing deterioration of slavery if the boundaries between white and black people were dissolved in the caldron of sexual intimacy, the planter class mobilized every unit of power for an assault on intermingling. Legislatures began to grind out laws of every imaginable description. Virginia legislated against intermingling in 1662, 1691, 1696, 1705, 1753, 1765. There were similar legislative paroxysms in other states. Maryland passed anti-amalgamation laws in 1664, 1681, 1715, 1717. The sentiment of the aristocratic lawmakers leaped out from the dry statutes in words like "spurious issue," "disgrace of the nation," "defiling."
>
> Private vigilante associations and racial purists whipped the doubtful into line. Behind the purists and the good grey lawmakers stood . . . parsons who blessed the rupture in community with words from the Holy Bible. But, astoundingly, nothing worked. Against the law as revealed by the parson and the legislator, intermarriage and intermingling continued in America for more than one hundred years. [People] would say later that there was a natural antipathy between Negroes and whites that no law could mitigate. But the record belies them. Negroes and whites were taught hate and fear. They were driven apart by symbols, sermons, and signed papers. Every instrument of persuasion—law, religion, prison, banishment—was used to destroy the developing bonds of community between Negro and white Americans.
>
> Who was responsible for this policy?
>
> The planters, the aristocrats, the parsons, the lawyers, the Founding Fathers—the good people: they sowed the seeds of the bitter harvest.

Excerpt from Lerone Bennett, Jr., *Confrontation: Black and White*, pp. 22-23.

CLASSROOM PROCEDURE:

1. *Ask students* to recall (perhaps play back Frames 86-100) the meaning of the term "segregation."

2. *Tell students* about (or if they are old enough, have them read) "Seeds of the Bitter Harvest," which discusses the development of enforced segregation between Africans and Europeans in the Southern colonies. How did African and European people in the colonies get along at first? What were the major divisions among people? Who wanted to divide people by skin color? Why? Why was this so hard to accomplish? Why did slaveholders' governments have to pass so many laws and use force to divide Blacks and whites? Who benefitted from the division? Who was hurt by it?

3. *Explain* that during Reconstruction, the segregation that had existed between whites and Blacks during slavery began to break down. In many places, Blacks and whites began to ride the same streetcars, use the same parks, play together, become friends, work together, and go to school together. Why did the Klan attack white people who were becoming friends with, or working together with, Black people? Why did those who took over the state governments and re-established white supremacy want to re-establish segregation? Why did they need to pass laws to accomplish this? How did racist ideas about Black people support segregation?

4. *Ask* what the filmstrip says happened to segregation laws almost 100 years after Reconstruction. What caused them to be changed? Clarify that while segregation laws were overturned in the 1950's and 1960's, and new laws saying everyone should have equal rights were passed, much segregation and inequality continue in the United States. Refer to *Perception vs. Reality*, p. 39 of Book I.

FOLLOW-UP ACTIVITIES:

For more information on how institutional practices continue segregation and racial inequities, even though laws have been changed, two useful resources can be obtained from CIBC, 1841 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10023. For middle and upper elementary school students, the supplementary curriculum unit "Winning 'Justice for All'" explores institutional discrimination by race and sex. For high school students and adults, the filmstrip kit "Understanding Institutional Racism" explores how discriminatory institutional policies and practices function.

FOCUSING IDEA: **The Confederate battle flag, because of the nature of its use over the years, has come to symbolize white supremacy and racism.**

OBJECTIVES:

- Students will be able to describe the relationship of white supremacy to a symbol with which many of them are familiar.
- Students will be able to trace some of the historical roots of white supremacy from the 1860's to the Civil Rights Era and to the present.

TIME REQUIRED:

One or two class periods.

MATERIALS NEEDED:

Depending on the age level and reading ability of your class, copies of the story of James Meredith and John Hawkins at Ole Miss (p. 18).

TEACHER PREPARATION:

Review the information on pp. 16-19.

CLASSROOM PROCEDURE:

1. *Ask students* what purpose flags serve, developing the idea that flags serve as a symbol (something that stands for or suggests something else) of a country, state or entity.

2. *Ask students* what the United States flag is supposed to stand for. (The original pledge of allegiance, published in 1892, said the flag stood for "the republic. . . one nation, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all." The words "under God" were added in 1954.)

3. *Project Frame 25* of the filmstrip on the screen. Explain that this is a painting of a battle scene during the Civil War—the battle for Ft. Wagner in July 1863. Ask students to examine the painting and to identify the Union forces and the Confederate forces. Ask what evidence indicates which side is which (e.g., the U.S. flag and the Confederate flag). If students do not mention the Black soldiers as evidence of the Union side, the teacher should.

4. *Tell the class* that in the first years of the war, Black people sought to fight for the United States, but the government refused to allow them into the Army. Finally, by 1863, Blacks were allowed in the Army and almost 180,000 served. Their participation was critical to the ultimate victory of the Union.

5. *Tell students* that the Confederate flag in the painting was not the official flag of the Confederacy. Rather, it was the Confederate battle flag, carried by the armies of the Confederacy during battles. Ask students to recall what the Confederacy was fighting for (the effort of slaveholders to take their states out of the United States; their effort to maintain slavery).

6. *Advance the filmstrip* to Frame 94. Ask students to identify elements of the picture (e.g., Ku Klux Klan outfits, white women and men, the Confederate battle flag). Ask students what the Ku Klux Klan stands for (white supremacy, racial violence, segregation of the races). Ask why participants at a Klan rally would display the Confederate battle flag. What would it symbolize for them and why? How is that related to what the leaders of the Confederacy were trying to achieve?

7. *Advance to Frame 95.* Tell students that this is a picture of white teenagers in Birmingham, Alabama, in 1964.

They are demonstrating in support of segregated schools. Explain that even though the U.S. Supreme Court had ruled ten years before that school segregation was unconstitutional, the laws in Alabama still required that Black students and white students go to separate schools. Ask why the white students, demonstrating for segregation and against Black and white students attending school together, are carrying the Confederate battle flag. What would it symbolize for them and why?

8. *Turn off the projector.* Explain that while many people may think of the Confederate battle flag simply as a symbol of Southern regional pride, it obviously stands for much more. Ask students to recall the various other things that the Confederate battle flag has stood for and write the responses on the chalkboard (e.g., the fight to maintain slavery, white supremacy, segregation, racism).

9. *Ask students* if and where they have seen the flag. (The popular television show, "The Dukes of Hazzard," is a likely response, since the Confederate battle flag covers the roof of the car which plays a prominent role in the series. Bumper stickers, tee shirts and a multitude of other items bearing the Confederate battle flag are appearing more and more frequently.)

10. *Read to students*, or have them read, the experiences of James Meredith and John Hawkins at the University of Mississippi.

11. *Discuss* John Hawkins' choice not to carry the Confederate battle flag. What is the connection between what his ancestors went through and what the flag represents? Remind students that while many people display the flag without thinking what it stands for, many others display it because it symbolizes white supremacy, racism and segregation. Ask students to discuss why many people—Black as well as white—dislike seeing the flag used. Have students write a short essay on what the Confederate battle flag has come to stand for and what it means to different people. Encourage students to write letters to companies that make products using the symbol of white supremacy and segregation.

12. *Discuss* the changes at Ole Miss in the twenty years from the time of James Meredith's admission to John Hawkins' experience as a cheerleader. Note the progress that has been made as well as areas where problems remain (e.g., under-representation of Black students and faculty, segregated fraternities and sororities). Ask what students think of the University's decision to no longer use the flag as its symbol.

Photo by Wayne Sides

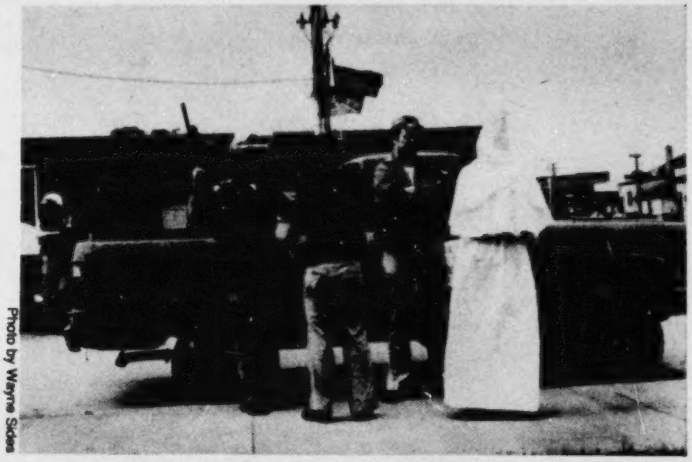


Photo by Wayne Sides

James Meredith & John Hawkins

Since at least the 1940's, the symbol of the University of Mississippi—or "Ole Miss" as it is called—has been the Confederate battle flag.

Before 1962, the University had been for whites only. Black people might work there as maids, kitchen help, janitors or groundskeepers. But no black people were allowed to attend as students, or to be teachers.

In 1961, James Meredith applied for admission to the University. At that time, he was 28 years old and a veteran of the U.S. Air Force. He was refused admission simply because he was black. Meredith went to court to win the right to attend Ole Miss. Finally, a federal court ruled that he had the right to attend.

James Meredith went to register at the University. But the Governor of Mississippi himself was there to prevent it. The Governor did not want black people to attend the University. He wanted it to be for whites only. President John F. Kennedy ordered U.S. Marshalls to go to the University to make sure that the federal court order was followed. That meant James Meredith would be allowed to register.

Many white students at the University—and other whites in the area—didn't want James Meredith admitted. It wasn't that they didn't like James Meredith—none of them even knew him. Instead, they had been taught all their lives to hate black people and to believe that white people were better. They wanted only white students to attend Ole Miss.

When James Meredith arrived at the University, thousands of these whites attacked the U.S. Marshalls with stones and bottles. Some of these whites carried Confederate battle flags. U.S. Army troops finally had to be brought in to put down the violent riot by whites. James Meredith became a student at Ole Miss, but U.S. Marshalls had to stay with him all the time until he graduated, to protect him from whites who sought to harm him.

By 1982, there were about 700 students at Ole Miss who were black, out of a total of 9,400 students. That represents an important gain. But Mississippi's population was about 34 percent black. Since they were only 7 percent of the Ole Miss students, blacks were greatly *under*-represented among the student population. And out of 556 professors at the University, only seven were black.

Fraternities and sororities (social clubs for students) are an important part of student life at Ole Miss. But in 1982, the fraternities and sororities were all white. No black students had been allowed to join in the whole 20 years since James Meredith became the first black student at the University. The school's football team is one place in the University where black people are fully represented—40 percent of the team is black.

At football games, the team is led onto the field by the male cheerleaders, who carry the school's symbol—the Confederate battle flag. One of the 700 black students at Ole Miss in the Fall of 1982 was John Hawkins, a 20-year-old junior. Hawkins was the first black student to become a cheerleader. Soon a controversy developed. John Hawkins refused to carry the Confederate battle flag which white cheerleaders had always carried. He explained why:

> It has not been written anywhere that an Ole Miss cheerleader has to wave a flag. While I'm an Ole Miss cheerleader, I'm still a black man. In my household, I wasn't told to hate the flag, but I did have history classes and know what my ancestors went through and what the Rebel flag represents. It is my choice that I prefer not to wave one.

Finally, in 1983, the University decided that the Confederate flag should not be the symbol of the University. Many blacks and whites were pleased. But some whites who wanted to keep the symbol demonstrated. They waved the Confederate flag and yelled racist names at black students.

The New York Times, May 3, 1983

Ole Miss Heeds a Call by Blacks to Furl Rebel Flag

By RONALD SMOTHERS
Special to The New York Times

OXFORD, Miss., April 29 — In 1962 the University of Mississippi was forced to open its doors to black students. Now, with some prodding and a little turmoil, it has thrown open a window or two and thrown out the Confederate flag as its unofficial symbol.

Many black students had charged that the flag was a symbol of racism, the Ku Klux Klan and continued university indifference to the quality of life for black students, who now number 734 out of a total enrollment of nearly 10,000.

So Chancellor Porter L. Fortune Jr. announced April 20 that the school would no longer purchase about 9,000 small Confederate flags annually to be handed out at football games and pep rallies, nor display the flag at official school functions. Mr. Fortune said, however, that the school could not legally ban anyone else's display of the flag.

Lydia Spragin, outgoing president of the school's Black Student Union, termed the step "a beginning," saying it was only one of 13 demands for change made by black students. The group also asked for an increase in black faculty members and black administrators; a black studies program; substantial money for black cultural programs; a general increase in financial aid, a measure that white students support as well, and the hiring of a black affirmative action officer.

Ex-Cheerleader Wins Office

John Hawkins, the new president of the black student group, who as a cheerleader played a crucial role in the flag dispute, said it hoped the affirmative action officer could "circumvent" the school hiring process. There are now six black faculty members out of a total of 503 and only one black administrator in 36.

In line with Mr. Fortune's decision on the flag, the school's Naval Reserve Officer Training Corps recently removed the Confederate flag from its unit insignia. Moving beyond the symbolic, the chancellor also "elevated" Ole Miss's affirmative action office from the personnel department so that it reports directly to him.

While the recent steps please Mr. Hawkins and others, they cited the practice of singing "Dixie" at school functions and the retention of the school mascot, Colonel Rebel, as among a host of other things that made black students feel alienated.

Use of Old Symbols Questioned

For many, these symbols are part of a heritage and regional identity; They have slipped their moorings and drifted away from their original associations with the Old South, slavery and the Confederacy. But as blacks make their presence felt socially and politically, the pervasive use of the symbols, with all their accretions of subtle and not-so-subtle meanings, is increasingly being questioned.

"I don't think there is anything more significant this school has done in the way of race relations since it admitted James Meredith in 1962," David Sansing, an Ole Miss history professor, said of the school's shedding of the flag. He and others agreed the move was the beginning in breaking down a psychological barrier to full integration of the school, a barrier no less formidable than the legal ones that existed before Mr. Meredith's admission sparked rioting and two deaths.

But old traditions die hard. White students, sitting in the shade of tall oaks and hickories and dogwoods at the University Circle or in front of the grand mansions on fraternity row expressed some ambivalence about the loss of recognition for a symbol that they said expressed school spirit and was not intentionally an assault on the sensibilities of black students.

"We never looked at the flag as being racist," said Melanie Bratton, an 18-year-old freshman from Pass Christian, Miss. "It's a little unfair that a minority of black students could change something that was not directed at them."

At Fraternity, Defiance

In front of the Sigma Alpha Epsilon fraternity house, some members talked bitterly and defiantly about the decision. John Gorham, a senior from Brentwood, Tenn., recalled the reaction to the school's attempt last fall to ban as too noisy and distracting the cowbells rung at football games by the fans of rival Mississippi State.

"There were more cowbells than ever," he said, "and that's just what's going to happen with the flag. I never brought a flag to the games before, but I will now."

The move prompted a slew of unfavorable and often virulently racist mail to the Chancellor from alumni and others. But according to Crymes Pittman, a Jackson lawyer who heads the Hines County alumni association, while many alumni were disappointed and upset, most accepted the need to "give up one of our dearest traditions to say that this state university has no intention of offending blacks, who make up 40 percent of the state."

Association Is Murky

The association of the banner used as the Confederate battle flag with the university has a murky history, according to Professor Sansing, who said that the school, founded in the mid-1840's, formed a well-known Civil War unit called the University Greys. Because they fought under the Confederate flag, it was associated with the school, but never officially. In the 1950's, the university, while not officially adopting the flag as its emblem, bought and distributed flags and in other ways fostered the banner's association with Ole Miss's then nationally known football team as a way of building spirit and broad support.

In many ways the last school year has been a watershed for the school in terms of race relations, according to students, faculty members and administrators. Last fall it held a calm 20th anniversary observance of James Meredith's admission, despite some fears that it would be a divisive and unpleasant reminder of the past.

Then the student body elected Mr. Hawkins, a junior from Batesville, as its first black cheerleader. It was Mr. Hawkins who first sparked controversy over the flag by refusing to carry it at games as Ole Miss cheerleaders have for 30 years. The administration then agreed to review the use of the flag.

Montage in Yearbook a Problem

It was a photographic montage recounting this sequence of events in the school's yearbook, published last month, that set off the demands by black students. The presentation of the blacks' demands in turn set off raucous, flag-waving demonstrations by more than 1,000 angry white students who paraded through the campus and shouted racial epithets as they gathered in front of a black fraternity house.

The faculty senate urged the Chancellor not only to disassociate the school from the flag, but from all other such symbols to "foster the spirit and substance of racial harmony." A day later Mr. Fortune made the announcement.

With final exams, a forced serenity has enveloped the campus and softened the hard edges of some of the feelings the flag issue aroused. Many hope that this, combined with the coming of vacation, will allow the issue to disappear. There are some signs that this is happening. Barely a week after the decision was made, a white student writing for the school newspaper, The Daily Mississippian, asked lightheartedly: Without the flags, what will we use to stir our drinks at the game?

Filmstrip Script

1. "We the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice . . . and secure the blessings of liberty . . ."
2. The United States promised to be a country with liberty and justice *for all.*
3. Yet, some groups of people have never been allowed to enjoy liberty, a good life and the pursuit of happiness equally with others.
4. Once, the United States came closer than ever before to becoming what it promised to be—for all.
5. Let's see what made that time—the Reconstruction years—so special.
6. CREDITS
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8. When the United States began, almost one out of every five people was held in slavery.
9. People in slavery had no rights. Slavemasters did whatever they wanted to them. Slaves were forced to work hard and got no pay.
10. Millions of people, taken from Africa, spent their entire lives in slavery. Their misery and hard work created great riches for many slaveholders.
11. By the year 1860, about four million Black children, women and men were enslaved, mostly in the South.
12. Even the half million African Americans not in slavery weren't free. They weren't treated the same as white people, in the South or in the North.
13. Most free Blacks weren't allowed to go to school, live where they wanted, vote or get good jobs.
14. Most whites grew up being told that people who were Black weren't equal, that white people were naturally better. They were taught that African people weren't even human.
15. Believing that people with white skin are superior, and people with black or brown skin are inferior, is called racism.
16. Such racist beliefs were just excuses, to make it seem all right to force Blacks to spend their lives working as slaves, without the right to live freely like whites.
17. Racism was used to make it seem all right not to give Blacks—slave or free—equal rights with whites.
18. "Liberty and justice for all" wasn't true. People weren't treated equally. Black people, and some whites who believed the promise, kept trying to make it come true.
19. Equality wasn't real for others, either. Women, of all colors, weren't treated equally with men. White women, and many Southern white men who were poor, weren't allowed to vote.
20. Without the vote, they couldn't elect others to make laws they wanted, or to get the government to work for them.
21. In the South, rich white men ran the governments. Most had big plantations and lots of slaves.
22. Instead of being governments of, by and for the people, the Southern states were run by and for rich slaveholders. Blacks had no rights and poor whites had very few.
23. No one was allowed to speak against slavery. Even in the North, women and men who spoke out against slavery were attacked by mobs.
24. In 1860, the slaveholder governments in 11 states declared themselves a separate country. Other slave states stayed in the Union.
25. A bloody civil war was fought for four years. Finally, the slaveholders' rebellion was defeated. The United States remained one nation. And slavery was ended.
26. The years right after the Civil War are called the time of Reconstruction. It was a time to reconstruct, or rebuild, what had been destroyed by war.
27. Reconstruction was a time to rebuild destroyed cities and broken lives. It was also a chance to rebuild the United States, to finally make it a nation with real liberty and justice for all.
28. Everyone was now free—according to the law. Across the South, Black people celebrated freedom.
29. Free workers in the cotton-field, / And in the sugar cane; / Free children in the common school, / With never more a chain.
30. Then rally round, Black people— / Aye, rally! We are *free!* / We've waited long / To sing the song— / The song of liberty.
31. Liberty! Liberty meant being able to decide yourself what to do with your life.
32. Liberty meant being able to leave the plantation to search for your parents or children who had been sold away to other slavemasters.

33. Freedom! Freedom meant the right to live as everyone else could. Freedom meant deciding together who would work and getting paid for your work.
34. Freedom meant being able to learn how to read, instead of being whipped for trying to read a book.
35. Freedom meant owning land, like most other people, to grow food for your family and crops for sale.
36. Most of the blacksmiths, carpenters, cooks and bricklayers of the South had been slaves. Slaves had done most of the farmwork.
37. Yet they'd never been paid for all this work. They began freedom with no money or land. Now they needed land and tools to build new lives.
38. "Give us our land and we can take care of ourselves," they said. "Without land the old masters can hire us or starve us as they please."
39. Congressman Thaddeus Stevens and others wanted the big plantations divided up. The ex-slaves would get some land to repay them for all their work. The rest would be sold to pay the huge cost of the war.
40. During the Civil War, the United States government had divided some plantations among freed slaves. It loaned them money to start farming.
41. They grew and sold crops. They earned enough money to support themselves and to pay back the government loans.
42. These freedpeople built new communities with their own governments, schools, churches and stores.
43. But after the war, President Andrew Johnson said the former slavemasters could take back those lands. Some Black people refused to give up their new farms.
44. Congress finally agreed that some of them could keep their land. But most Blacks never got any land. They had to work for former slavemasters who paid them very little.
45. These ex-slavemasters wanted to keep Black people working for little pay. And they wanted to keep government working mainly for their own benefit.
46. These slavemasters had started the war. Yet President Johnson let them take over the state governments once again. He said government was only for white men.
47. Black people were meeting together, trying to create new lives of freedom. The former slavemasters didn't like this.
48. They passed laws called Black Codes. They said Black people couldn't hold meetings without permission, own land, or travel without a pass.
49. The Codes said Blacks could only do low-paying farm work. If they refused, they'd be arrested and made to work for nothing—almost like slavery again.
50. Many whites used violence, trying to keep Blacks under their control. In New Orleans, Memphis and elsewhere, white mobs attacked and killed Black people.
51. Blacks insisted on their rights as free people. They demonstrated, met, and petitioned Congress. They wanted to be treated fairly and to have the violence stopped.
52. Finally Congress acted. In 1867, it passed the Reconstruction Act. This law ended the Black Codes. And it removed the state governments run by former slaveholders.
53. Congress said that all men—Black and white, rich and poor—could vote. They would choose people to write new state constitutions.
54. For the first time, poor white and Black men voted. They elected others to write fair constitutions to protect people's rights.
55. Robert Smalls was one of the people elected. While still a slave, he had sailed a Confederate ship north to the Union Navy.
56. Also elected was Francis Louis Cardozo, a free Black man who had attended universities in England.
57. These men helped write the most democratic constitutions there'd ever been in the South. All men—Black and white—could vote.
58. Some people wanted women to be allowed to vote. But it would be many years before any state in the country permitted women to take part in democracy.
59. After the constitutions were written, elections for new state governments were held. Blacks and poor whites were among those elected. Many good laws were passed.
60. The first free public schools in the South were started. Now all children could learn to read and write.
61. Women's rights to own property and to get a divorce were improved. And laws against Jewish people were ended.
62. Poor people would no longer be jailed if they owed money they couldn't pay.
63. Everyone—whatever their color—was to be treated equally under the law. Blacks could now ride the same streetcars and use the same parks as whites.

64. Poor white and Black men could serve on juries. Some became sheriffs, judges and town officials.
65. Black and poor white men finally had a say in government. People of all colors were equal under the law. This was closer to being real democracy.
66. By working together, poor white and Black men got to vote and could serve in government. Poor white and Black children could go to school. Life became better for poor people of all colors in the South.
67. But some whites didn't like Blacks and poor whites working together. They didn't want Blacks to have equal rights.
68. These people wanted white supremacy. That meant government would be run only by whites. Whites would be treated better than Blacks and have more rights.
69. These people tried to turn other whites against the new governments. They said Blacks were taking over government. This wasn't true, because most government officials were white.
70. They said Blacks weren't educated enough to be in government. Yet most Black men elected had more schooling than Abraham Lincoln.
71. The people who wanted white supremacy insulted whites who worked in the new governments, calling them names like "scalawags" and "carpetbaggers."
72. They said that those working in the new governments were stealing lots of money. Some money was stolen.
73. But much more stealing was going on in Northern governments and in the national government in Washington.
74. Whites who wanted white supremacy would say anything to get rid of the new governments and equal rights. And they would do anything.
75. White landowners threatened to fire their Black workers who voted. With no land or money and needing jobs to survive, many didn't vote. But many Blacks dared to vote anyway.
76. So the white supremacists set out to destroy the new governments and to control Blacks by using violence. The most powerful of the violent groups they formed was the Ku Klux Klan.
77. Many Klan leaders were rich former slaveholders who had led the war against the United States.
78. Klan members hid under masks and robes. They killed Black and white people working to build democracy.
79. Black people who had some land and were building a better life were driven off their land or killed.
80. The terrorists burned schools and shot teachers. They didn't want Blacks reading or writing.
81. They were especially violent around election time, trying to keep Black men from voting.
82. Armed with guns, they blocked roads and voting places. Even so, lots of Blacks voted, believing freedom was worth the risk.
83. In some states, the terrorists didn't bother hiding behind masks. They rode around in broad daylight, killing and beating to keep Blacks and their white allies from voting.
84. In one Southern state after another, the new governments were destroyed. Government by whites-only returned.
85. Many Blacks and whites fought to save the new democracy. They appealed to the national government to help protect their rights.
86. Congress passed some laws and the President sent some soldiers. But they didn't do enough to protect democracy and freedom. White supremacy returned to all the Southern states.
87. Over time, most rights of Blacks were taken away. Black men, and some poor white men, were denied the vote. Schooling for poor whites and Blacks suffered.
88. The white-only governments passed laws forcing Black people to use separate trains, separate parks and separate schools. This is called segregation.
89. Under segregation, rich whites got the best, poor whites got less and Blacks got whatever was left.
90. Blacks got only the lowest-paying and hardest jobs. It was almost as if slavery had returned.
91. Violence was used to keep Blacks down. Thousands were lynched by white mobs. Once again, liberty and justice for all were empty promises.
92. History books, newspapers, and movies—made by whites—turned the truth around. They made Reconstruction seem terrible and the Klan seem like heroes.
93. They made Black people—and all other people who weren't white—look as if they were inferior and less than human.
94. Many whites, seeing these racist books, magazines and movies, believed white supremacy was a good thing.
95. Because they were taught to believe dark-skinned people weren't equal, they didn't care if there wasn't liberty and justice for all.

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96. Blacks and some whites kept working to make the promise of democracy and justice for all come true. Many lost their lives trying.

97. It was a long time before the efforts to make a more democratic country were strong enough to end segregation laws and win equal rights, under the law, for Black people.

98. That finally happened almost a hundred years after Reconstruction began. Some called it the Second Reconstruction.

99. Today, children, women and men, of all colors, are still working to make the promise of equality and justice for all come ture.

100. To let everyone enjoy the rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. As many tried to do during that short but special time of Reconstruction.

CREDITS.

THE END.

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